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PAUPERISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY, OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

THE chief of the Salvation Army has written a book which marks an epoch in the history of thought on social subjects in the nineteenth century. It has stirred the minds and hearts of millions on three continents, and touches men on every continent, for there is no great part of the world not reached by this remarkable man. Although no student of social science may be able to accept its theories and recommendations as a whole without serious qualification, it is a trumpet-blast calling men to action on behalf of the poorest and most degraded classes in modern society. Carelessness and indifference to others have sought shelter behind walls of lies built up by the devil's optimism, which denies evils to escape responsibility. But these walls begin to tumble about those who thought themselves secure in their shadow. Hundreds of men have been earning plaudits for ministering to the self-satisfied complacency of the fortunate classes, but the word of an honest man, whose life corresponds with his teaching, produces an effect which overthrows years of evil work on their part. A man has spoken.

General Booth calls the most unfortunate class in the community for which he pleads the "submerged tenth," and, roughly speaking, it is an accurate designation in the modern civilized world. This class is divided into three parts, or three sub-classes, namely, the defective, the delinquent, and the dependent. Statistics regarding the numbers in these three sub-classes are everywhere meagre and unsatisfactory, but they are sufficient to indicate a rough accuracy in the term the "submerged tenth."

It is the purpose of the present article to deal chiefly with one of these sub-classes, that of the dependents or paupers, and to treat of this part of the great submerged tenth as it exists in the

United States, making a few references to paupers in other countries.

While we may deplore the lack of careful statistical information concerning pauperism in this and other countries, there are certain facts which we do know. First of all is this fact : there exists in the United States an immense mass of pauperism. No one knows either how great this mass is, or whether it is relatively, or even absolutely, larger than in former times. Several States in the Union, as New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, publish statistics concerning the defective, delinquent, and dependent classes, but many of the States gather no statistics at all, or very inadequate ones. Such statistics as we have cannot well be brought together and compared, because they have not been collected in the same year in different States, nor have they been collected according to similar methods. The word pauper in one State means one thing, and in another State something else. For example, dependent children are in one place classed among the paupers, and in another place they are put in a category by themselves.

The only authority competent to gather the facts which we ought to know for the whole country is the federal government, and it has attempted to do something in the various censuses. The census reports, however, have been heretofore incomplete and unsatisfactory, and during last year the praiseworthy attempt to gather most important social information has been at least partially frustrated by the senseless opposition of the newspapers. Mr. Frederick H. Wines, a high authority, was the special agent of the Tenth Census appointed to gather the statistics concerning the submerged tenth, and he reported altogether about half a million. This, however, is an underestimate. Only a little over 21,000 outdoor paupers were reported, whereas a single city undoubtedly has a larger number receiving public relief outside of public institutions. It is admitted in the report that "the attempt to secure anything like a complete or adequate enumeration of them in the present census was a failure." "The present census" means the census of 1880.

At the sixteenth Conference of Charities and Correction, in Omaha, in 1889, the committee on reports from States expressed the opinion that it was safe to estimate the number of persons in the United States receiving outdoor relief at an aver-

age of 250,000 during the year, including at least 600,000 different persons. This same committee, including Messrs. F. B. Sanborn and H. H. Hart, did not regard 110,000 persons as an overestimate of the population of the almshouses of the country. Five States of the Union alone report nearly half that number. These are New York, with 19,500 inmates of almshouses; Pennsylvania, with 13,500; Massachusetts, with 9,000; Ohio, with 8,000; and Illinois, with 5,000. These States, however, do not include much over one-third of the population of the country. Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, the able and devoted secretary of the New York Charity-Organization Society, has estimated that three millions of people in the United States were wholly or partially supported by alms during a recent year, and that the support received by this number was equal to the total support of half a million paupers during the entire year. This estimate is based upon such facts as he had been able to gather, and even a guess from one situated as he is has some weight.

Reliable statistics make this estimate of three millions for the United States not at all improbable. Three millions of paupers would comprise less than 5 per cent. of the population, or one in twenty, whereas in Cologne, in Germany, in 1781, one in four of the population was a pauper. In England, in 1863, $5\frac{3}{16}$ per cent. of the population consisted of paupers. Turning to the United States, we find that over 10 per cent. of the people of Buffalo, N. Y., received alms in 1876. The Buffalo estimate includes merely the recipients of city alms, and there must have been a large additional number of recipients of private alms. There are always many recipients of private and secret alms in every community, and this unknown number must be added to the number of known paupers if we are to have a correct view of pauperism in the United States. All that we can do is to say from the facts which come under our individual observation that the total number of those who receive private and secret charitable aid must be very large. Every careful observer with an extensive acquaintance knows many persons in every social class either wholly or partially supported by private charity. They are persons who truly belong to the dependent classes, unable to maintain themselves in the world of competition, but who never figure in reports of any society or public charitable institution.

There are many ways of arriving at this estimate of three

millions in the United States. We may first, in order to be careful not to overestimate the pauperism of the United States, suppose our population to be sixty millions, instead of sixty-two and a quarter millions, as it really is. We may next divide the percentage of pauper population of Buffalo by one-half, giving us 5 per cent. If it be granted that this is a conservative estimate, we will have still three millions of paupers. An experienced worker among the dependent and delinquent classes in New York estimated five years ago that there were 220,000 alms-receivers in that city. Critics who question the reliability of the figures wish to cut them down one-half, but even that would have left nearly 10 per cent. of the population, giving New York twice its proper share, if the estimate of three millions for the country be correct. *The State Charities Record*, the organ of the State Charities-Aid Association of New York, states that during the year ending October, 1888, nearly half a million people in the State of New York received public aid, which would give us at the same ratio for the entire country over five millions, as New York contains less than one-tenth of the population. This New York estimate, however, does not include the inmates of jails, work-houses, etc., and those who receive charitable aid from other sources. It is stated that, if these were added, we should have at least three-quarters of a million in New York State dependent upon charity, showing that for the State of New York General Booth's expression, the "submerged tenth," is far from being an exaggeration.

The number of paupers varies greatly from year to year, according to the general prosperity of the country and other causes, and even within the same year, according to the season. The estimate of three millions cannot be regarded as an extravagant one for the United States during hard times. We have, then, that number of persons who at some time or another are compelled to ask support which they will not or cannot obtain for themselves. If we should cut down this number to half a million, it would be sufficient to cause distress to every lover of his kind, and to justify inquiry into the nature of pauperism, its causes and its cure.

Numerous estimates have been made of the direct and indirect cost of pauperism to this country. The direct pauper expenditures of the United States may be placed at twenty-five millions of dollars at least; indeed, this must be an underestimate, for

New York State alone expends for charitable purposes through its various institutions over thirteen millions of dollars. If we place the average number of persons in the country supported by charity at five hundred thousand, and estimate the loss of productive power for each one of these at \$100 per year, we shall have an indirect loss of fifty millions of dollars to be added to the direct expenditures. One hundred millions of dollars a year must be regarded as a conservative estimate of the total direct and indirect pecuniary loss to the country on account of pauperism. A far more serious loss, however, is the loss in manhood and womanhood.

In contrast to this first fact of the great mass of pauperism, we have the second equally indisputable fact that it is for the most part a curable disease. Wherever there has been any earnest and intelligent attempt to remedy the evil, the success has been equal to all the most sanguine could anticipate. I have read accounts of many such attempts to lessen pauperism, and everything that I have read has confirmed in my mind the belief that it is a curable evil. A few illustrations out of a great number at hand must suffice for present purposes. The Elberfeld system of charitable relief is well known. About 1850 an earnest attempt was made in that city to deal with the question of pauperism. At that time the number of inhabitants was 50,000 ; in 1880 it was 90,000 ; but the number of friendly visitors required had not increased. The number needing help fell from 2,948 in the year 1853 to 1,287 in 1876, or from 57 in the thousand of population to between 15 and 16 in the thousand. The city of Leipsic introduced the Elberfeld system in 1881, and in a single year the number of paupers fell off two thousand. Even England seems to have met with some success in dealing with pauperism, for the paupers comprised $5\frac{3}{10}$ per cent. of the population in 1863, $4\frac{6}{10}$ in 1871, and only 3 per cent. in 1882.

The experience of Buffalo, in this country, has been as instructive as it is gratifying. During the first ten years of the existence of the Buffalo Charity-Organization Society, namely, from 1877 to 1887, the pauperism of the city decreased, so far as statistics indicate, at least 50 per cent. Of 763 families dealt with by that society in 1878-79, Mr. Rosenau, the secretary, was able to state that, so far as he knew, 458 families had never been applicants for charity since 1879, and only 81 were met with in

1887. Mr. Rosenau further said that, if the citizens of Buffalo would furnish the society with funds and workers, the close of 1897 would see the city practically free from pauperism, and, he hoped, with very little abject poverty within her limits. Mr. Kellogg, of the New York Society, in his fifth annual report, claims that of 4,280 cases treated during the preceding year, 697 became self-supporting by securing employment for them, by training them in industry, or by starting them in business. During the same year 1,508 cases treated during the first year of the society's existence were reëxamined, and over 20 per cent. of these cases were *known to continue self-supporting*. Of course some of the others treated during the first year who could not be traced continued self-supporting.

There is reason to believe that there are adult paupers who can never be rendered entirely independent and self-supporting. Some of these are willing to work, but have simply not been furnished with qualities requisite for success in the competitive world of to-day, or their latent faculties, which might once have been developed, have been allowed to remain unused so long that their present development is practically impossible. These require permanent treatment in establishments adapted to them, where such powers as they have can be utilized for their own good and the benefit of society. With some others the trouble is not so much mental or physical as moral, and these require permanent treatment, severe but kind, in separate establishments. The first of these permanently-helpless classes belongs to a certain extent to the imbeciles, while the second belongs rather to the criminal class. Both of these classes, however, are few in number, and all others can be redeemed. Nearly all children belong to the redeemable portion of humanity. This second fact states, then, this proposition: pauperism as now known may be considered a needless evil; in other words, in modern society there are sufficient resources to cure it if men would but apply them.

The third indisputable fact observed is that only slight effort is put forth by the community at large to cure the evil of pauperism. Mr. Rosenau has shown that only one in 713 persons in thirty-two cities where there are charity-organization societies which reported, contributed to their funds. These cities represented a population of about seven and a quarter millions, and the

number of contributors was only a little over ten thousand. When we put this in contrast with the church membership of the country, which comprises something like one-third of the population, or, if we count only adult members, one-fourth, we are reminded of the conclusion reached by Mr. Frederic Harrison and others that for social regeneration Christianity is a failure. Of course many cannot contribute money, but there is equal complaint of a lack of persons who are willing to contribute their time and sympathy as friendly visitors. Those who have read Tolstoi's book, "*What to Do*," will find there described the experience of every sincere friend of humanity who has attempted to secure genuine coöperation among the fortunate classes to help elevate the less fortunate classes out of their economic, physical, and moral wretchedness ; namely, general but vague expressions of interest, with a final refusal of the aid needed. As in the parable of the New Testament, they all begin to make excuses.

Tolstoi, far away in Russia, has discovered what the workers among the poor in our own country have found out, that the poor can be relieved by individual treatment. As in Russia, so here, the number of those in a position to render the needed help far exceeds the number of those who require assistance. "A remarkable man named Sutaieff" comes to Tolstoi and tells him that he has been making a mistake in giving kopeks to beggars, and intimates that the problem of dealing with pauperism is not so great after all. "You are not aware, I dare say," replies the writer of the book, "that there are in Moscow about twenty thousand cold and hungry, and then think of those in St. Petersburg and other towns !" Sutaieff smiled and replied : "Twenty thousand ; and how many families are there in Russia alone ? Would they amount to a million ?" He then goes on to say that, if each family would do its part, the resources of the people would be more than sufficient to meet the needs of the situation. The number of people in the United States who call themselves Christians is certainly five times the number of those who require help, while the most that is wanted is one friendly visitor to each pauper. The successful Elberfeld system requires only one friendly visitor to four needy families. If we are not prepared, with Mr. Frederic Harrison, to turn away from the proud pretensions of Christianity as illusory, we may certainly reproach those who call themselves Christians with the fact that

their conduct is not in accord with their proud professions, even if we remember all the activity of the churches which is connected neither with charity-organization societies nor any outside organizations.

Because Christ said, "The poor ye have with you always," some have wanted to find in that an excuse for their own neglect of conduct prescribed by the fundamental principles of Christianity. To begin with, they have become accustomed to quote Christ incorrectly and make him say, "The poor ye shall always have with you," which he never said; and, in the second place, they have drawn false conclusions from what he did say, whether it referred to the present or future. We have crime always with us. Is that any reason why we should not do all in our power to lessen crime? Pauperism is a moral and physical evil, and we ought to do all in our power to remedy it. We have the scribes and Pharisees always with us, those who pervert Scripture and make it an excuse for their own shortcomings; but this does not render it less desirable to reduce this odious class to its lowest limits.

What are the causes of pauperism? These causes are many, and they cannot be stated in any single sentence. The most general statement possible is that the causes of poverty are heredity and environment, producing weak physical, mental, and moral constitutions. If sociological investigations have made one thing clearer than another, it is that paupers are a class into which one is often born, and from which, when born into it, one can be rescued, as a rule, only by a change of environment. These investigations show likewise that paupers are a class of inferior men. Inquiry was made at the Prison Association two years ago as to the chief cause of crime; and every expert in criminal studies was reported to have replied, "Bad homes and heredity." The same reply may be given as to the causes of pauperism. Four different careful studies of the causes of pauperism have been made, two in New York State, one in Indiana, and one in Berlin.

The first which I have in mind was made by Mr. Richard L. Dugdale, and was called "The Jukes." The ancestor of the Jukes is called "Margaret, the mother of criminals." Mr. Dugdale estimated that 1,200 of this family in seventy-five years cost the community directly and indirectly not less than a million and a quarter of dollars.

The second study was made in New York State under the direction of the Legislature by the State Board of Charities. The investigation occupied the secretary of this board and various assistants for nearly two years, and the antecedents of every inmate of the poorhouses of the State were examined. Mrs. C. R. Lowell, who has been so active in the charities of New York State, and who has achieved a well-merited reputation, read a report on the results of this investigation. She describes typical women. The description of two cases may be quoted, and they will serve for all.

"In the Herkimer County poorhouse a single woman, aged sixty-four years, twenty of which have been spent in the poorhouse; has had six illegitimate children, four of whom have been paupers."

"In the Montgomery County poorhouse a woman twenty years of age, illegitimate, uneducated and vagrant; has two children in the house, aged respectively three years and six months, both illegitimate, and the latter born in the institution; recently married an intemperate, crippled man, formerly a pauper."

Mrs. Lowell says: "These mothers are women who began life as their own children have begun it—inheriting strong passions and weak wills, born and bred in the poorhouse, taught to be wicked before they could speak plain, all the strong evil in their natures strengthened by their surroundings, and the weak good trampled out of life."

The third study to which I referred is that made by Mr. Oscar McCulloch, and is called "The Tribe of Ishmael." Mr. McCulloch, who is a clergyman in Indianapolis, found the poor and degraded in that part of the country closely connected by ties of blood and marriage. This band of paupers and criminals takes its name from one Ben Ishmael, who can be traced as far back as 1790, when he was living in Kentucky. The descendants of this family have intermarried with thirty other families. In the first generation we know the history of 3, in the second of 84, in the third of 283, in the fourth of 640, in the fifth of 679, and in the sixth of 57. We have a total of 1,750 individuals, with but scant records previous to 1840. Among these we find 121 prostitutes. Several murders can be traced to the Tribe of Ishmael. Thieving and larceny are common among them, and they are nearly all beggars. Looking back into the history of the family of Ben Ishmael, we find that three of his grandchildren married three sisters from a pauper family. Death is frequent among them, and they are physically unable to endure hard work or bad climate. They break down early and go to the poorhouse or hospital. About 75 per cent. of the cases treated in the City Hospital

of Indianapolis are from this class, if we leave out of consideration acute cases and cases from outside the city. A confirmation of the frequent relationship among the unfortunate classes is given in the eighteenth annual report of the trustees of the Children's Home of Washington County, Ohio. It appeared from investigations that during the two preceding years over 66 per cent. of the number who had been inmates of the home from Washington County were related by blood or marriage.

The fourth of the studies is that made by city missionaries in Berlin a few years ago, and reported by Court Pastor Stöcker. The ancestors of this criminal and pauper family were two sisters, of whom the older died in 1825. Their posterity numbers 834 persons. The criminalists are able to trace the history of 709 with tolerable accuracy. Among these there were 106 illegitimate children, 164 prostitutes, 17 pimps, 142 beggars, 64 inmates of poorhouses, and 76 guilty of serious crimes, who together had passed 116 years in prison. It is estimated that this single family cost the state over half a million dollars.

It is worthy of note in this connection that the members of the Tribe of Ishmael are, as a rule, temperate, and total abstainers are often found among the worst classes.

Mr. Dugdale bases these "tentative" conclusions upon his study :

"1. Pauperism is an indication of weakness of some kind, either youth, disease, old age, injury, or, for women, childbirth.

"2. Hereditary pauperism rests chiefly upon disease in some form, tends to terminate in extinction, and may be called the sociological aspect of physical degeneration.

"3. The debility and diseases which enter most largely into its production are the result of sexual licentiousness.

"4. The logical induction seems to be that environment is the ultimate controlling factor in determining careers, placing heredity itself as an organized result of invariable environment."

Heredity and environment are ultimate causes. The other causes, which are generally the only ones noticed by the casual observer, are the immediate causes of poverty. Those who are weak in body and mind yield to unfavorable circumstances, not having sufficient power to enable them to overcome all the obstacles of life. The number of paupers is always greater in winter than in summer, and is always much larger in what are called "hard times" than in flush times, all showing a certain power to

resist temptation and to fight for a living, but an inadequate power.

There are those, undoubtedly, whose pauperism can be traced neither to heredity nor unfavorable environment, but they are comparatively few. Well-brought-up children of morally and physically sound parents seldom become paupers.

Perhaps the most careful analysis of the causes of pauperism has been made by Professor Amos G. Warner, of the University of Nebraska. He presents the following analysis of the more immediate or proximate causes of poverty :

ANALYSIS OF THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

Subjective.	Characteristics.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Undervitalization and indolence. 2. Lubricity. 3. Specific disease. 4. Lack of judgment. 5. Unhealthy appetites.
	Habits producing and produced by the above. . .	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shiftlessness. 2. Self-abuse and sexual excess. 3. Abuse of stimulants and narcotics. 4. Unhealthy diet. 5. Disregard of family ties.
Objective.		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Inadequate natural resources. 2. Bad climatic conditions. 3. Defective sanitation, etc. 4. Evil associations and surroundings. 5. Defective legislation and defective judicial and punitive machinery. 6. Misdirected or inadequate education.
	7. Bad industrial conditions.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Variations in value of money. b. Changes in trade. c. Excessive or ill-managed taxation. d. Emergencies unprovided for. e. Undue power of class over class. f. Immobility of labor.
	8. Unwise philanthropy.	

According to all careful investigations, intemperance plays a minor, although an important, role, the returns under this head depending largely upon the prejudices of the person making the investigation. One Prussian table of causes of destitution attributes less than 2 per cent. to intemperance. The tenth report of the Buffalo Charity-Organization Society shows that during the period of its existence over 11 per cent. of the cases of pauperism were traced by its secretary to intemperance. In London Mr. Charles Booth—not General Booth—attributes from 13 to 14 per cent. of the cases to intemperance. There are others who attribute a much larger percentage of pauperism to intemperance,

but nearly if not quite always a minority. Lack of employment, or involuntary idleness, is a more prominent cause of pauperism, and undoubtedly many cases of intemperance may be traced back to a period of involuntary idleness. The number of unemployed in England and Wales has been placed at six millions, and in the United States at over one million, and an extremely small percentage is due to strikes or lockouts. Child-labor, which has assumed terrible proportions in recent years, and the employment of women must be placed among the causes of poverty, both of them tending to break up the home. Industrial crises are a chief cause of modern pauperism, it having been observed in every modern nation that the number of tramps and paupers increases immensely during a period of industrial depression. Many men, while seeking work during these periods, fall hopelessly into vagabondage and pauperism, and those dependent upon them are thrown upon the public.

What has been said about causes of pauperism makes it easy to understand the nature of the remedies required. It is necessary to go back of the phenomena which lie on the surface to underlying causes. Things which are not seen are of more importance than things which are seen. I have said that the two chief causes of pauperism are heredity and environment, and the question arises, How change these for the better? Fortunately the more powerful is environment, and that is the more easily controlled. The remedy is to break up these pauper and criminal bands, and at the earliest age to remove the children from their poisonous atmosphere. Wherever an attempt has been made to improve the children of the lowest classes by placing them in wholesome environment, the results have been eminently satisfactory. Not all, but a large majority, grow up to be independent, self-respecting, and respected citizens. Less may be done for adults who have once become thoroughly identified with the "lost and lapsed classes," but even for most of these much can be accomplished by bringing wholesome influences to bear. The class regarded as most hopeless of all is that of fallen women, but the Salvation Army's "Slum Sisterhood," consisting of young women of character who go among the most degraded, have secured success even among these. The secret is to go among these people of the submerged tenth as Christ went among men, sharing their sorrows and helping them with the personal contact

of superior natures. Self-sacrifice, enjoined by true Christianity, is the neglected social force which solves social problems.

Germany has a large number of "Laborers' Colonies" for the dependent classes, and these colonies have succeeded well, on the whole. It seems clear that there is a class which must be kept permanently isolated in asylums and subjected to kind but firm discipline. They are called by General Booth the "morally incurable," and include those who "will not work and will not obey." These are to be regarded, from the stand-point of competitive society, as social refuse, but they are not entirely useless on that account. Their own good requires strong government, which will utilize whatever powers they possess, and only in case improvement is seen in individuals among them should greater liberty be allowed to these relatively more hopeful cases. It is felt by all specialists in sociology that these hopelessly lost and lapsed should not be allowed to propagate their kind.

The analysis of applicants for relief made by American charity-organization societies shows that the number of poor and worthy people is much larger than one would gather from superficial newspaper articles. Nearly 28,000 cases were analyzed, with this result:

Worthy of continuous relief.....	10.3 per cent.
Worthy of temporary relief.....	26.6 " "
Needing relief in the form of work.....	40.4 " "
Unworthy of relief.....	22.7 " "

It is difficult to say who ought to be called unworthy of relief, but evidently those are placed in that category whose trouble is above everything else moral, and among these are some who ought most of all to excite our compassion.

Turning now to more specific remedies, we may instance two which have been tried and failed. One is miscellaneous almsgiving, which has been a social curse, producing the very evil which we want to cure. Every time money is given on the street to a beggar without inquiry harm is done. The other remedy which has been tried is still advocated by some, and that is tract-distribution and preaching. Social reformers have long said that conditions must first be changed before we can work upon the individual by appeals to his moral nature. Social reformers have been much abused for emphasizing external circumstances, but they seem at last to have carried conviction to those actually at work

among the poor. The late Mr. Charles Loring Brace, who worked successfully among the poor of New York city, although himself a religious man, warned us against the effort to cure the worst evils of the slums of cities by technical religious means. Mr. Brace speaks of a too great confidence in "the old technical methods, such as distributing tracts, holding prayer-meetings, and scattering Bibles," and assures us that "the neglected and ruffian classes are in no way affected directly by such influences as these." But if the testimony of a layman is doubted, we may quote the Rev. Mr. Barnett, rector of St. Jude's, in London, who tells us that "the social reformer must go alongside the Christian missionary." The Methodists have generally as much confidence as any denomination in these technically religious methods, but the well-known Methodist minister, the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, of London, says: "I have had almost as much experience of evangelistic work as any man in this country, and I have never been able to bring any one who was actually starving to Christ." Let us hear the chief of the Salvation Army, who certainly does not underrate religious exhortation. General Booth says:

"I have had some experience on this subject, and have been making observations with respect to it ever since the day I made my first attempt to reach these starving, hungry crowds,—just over forty-five years ago,—and I am quite satisfied that these multitudes will not be saved in their present circumstances. All the clergymen, home missionaries, tract-distributors, sick-visitors, and every one else who cares about the salvation of the poor, may make up their minds as to that. The poor must be helped out of their present social miseries."

Some specific remedies must, on account of lack of space, be merely mentioned. A prominent cause of misery in all cities is found to be early and thoughtless marriages. A public sentiment must be formed on this subject. The results are weak and feeble children, and often ultimate discouragement and pauperism on the part of parents unable to carry the burdens which they have taken upon themselves. A further development of charity-organization societies will be helpful. Friendly societies and trade-unions should be encouraged in every way, and the example of a few educated and cultured people not of the wage-earning class, who have joined societies like the Knights of Labor, ought to be more generally followed. The close association with one's fellows in these societies is most helpful, and this keeps their members from pauperism. Very few paupers are members of any trades-

union. When in a time of great distress a large fund was raised in London for distribution, in one district one thousand men applied for help before one mechanic came, and among all the applicants there was only one member of a trades-union.

The chief agency of reform, however, must be sought in the helpful coöperation of citizens with public authorities, particularly with those of the city. Private societies have made a failure of efforts to improve social conditions. The Elberfeld system, so often quoted, means precisely this coöperation of private effort with municipal authorities. This organization of charities is a municipal one, which drafts into its service the best citizens as friendly visitors in such numbers that there is one to every four poor families.

Finally, every social improvement tends to diminish the number of paupers, and the question of pauperism thus involves the whole of social science. Remedies are of two kinds, positive and preventive; namely, those which seek to cure the evil and those which aim to prevent its coming into existence. The number of our almshouses, asylums, and charitable institutions of all sorts, of which we boast so much, is really our shame. They show that we are but half-Christians. As we progress in real Christianity, preventive measures will be more and more emphasized. They will include, among other things, improved education of every grade, better factory legislation, including employers' liability acts, means for the development of the physical man, like gymnasiums, playgrounds, and parks, increased facilities for making small savings, like postal savings-banks, and more highly-developed sanitary legislation and administration. We may hope to see the time when the practice of Christians will to such an extent conform to their proud professions that the slums of cities will disappear and be replaced by wholesome dwellings, permitting in these quarters once more to spring up that old and beneficent institution—The Home.

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